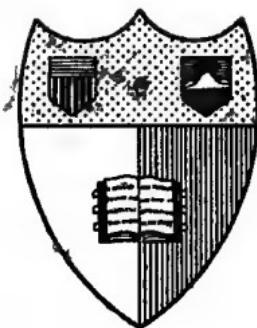


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ENGLISH

ALEXANDER SOUTER

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[Continued on p. 3.]

HINTS ON TRANSLATION FROM
LATIN INTO ENGLISH

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 20

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D.¹ D.C.L.

HINTS ON
TRANSLATION FROM
LATIN INTO ENGLISH

ALEXANDER SOUTER, D.LITT.

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HINTS ON TRANSLATION FROM LATIN INTO ENGLISH¹

By ALEXANDER SOUTER, D.LITT.

MANY helpful works have been written on the rendering of English into Latin. Some of them are of altogether exceptional merit, such as Professor J. P. Postgate's *Sermo Latinus* (Macmillan), Professor H. Nettleship's *Passages for Translation into Latin Prose, with an Introduction* (Bell), and Professor W. R. Hardie's *Latin Prose Composition* (Arnold). But on the reverse task, the rendering of Latin into English, much less has been written. Any such consummate treatment of the subject as has recently been provided for French by Dr. R. L. Graeme Ritchie and Mr. James M. Moore² does not appear to exist. Nor can the attempt to provide it be made in a few pages. All that can be expected here is some hints derived from personal struggles with the task and from considerable experience both as a teacher of Latin and as an examiner of school and university exercises.

An author of a book writes primarily for his own people, for those whose native language is the same as

¹ I am greatly indebted to Professor W. B. Anderson, the Victoria University, Manchester, for his careful revision of this paper.

² *Translation from French* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1918).

his own. The words he uses have for them very much the same value as they have for him. Both he and they are inheritors of the same living speech, with a long history behind it. As is well known, the literary is never quite the same as the spoken language, and the farther away it departs from colloquial usage, the more artificial it becomes; and, while in so doing it may alienate many of the writer's compatriots, it becomes thereby more comprehensible by the educated of other peoples. The more "racy of the soil" an author's ideas and language are, the more difficult is the translator's task; indeed every literature contains works whose style and thought cannot be adequately reproduced in other languages. Such works must remain closed books to all who cannot read them in the original. But most works whose thought transcends mere national barriers can be so translated as to retain at least some of their best qualities. A scholarly and sympathetic translator who is an artist in his own language can do much to make such writings appeal to a wide circle of his countrymen.

It is self-evident that the translator must have a knowledge both of the language from which the translation is to be made, and also of that into which it is to be made. That he should possess an equally great knowledge of both is almost impossible. An English translator into English must of necessity know his mother-tongue better than any other, but he must be distinguished from the majority of his fellow-countrymen by a special knowledge of the language to be translated. It will be strange, however, if, in the process of obtaining his special knowledge, his sense of his own language is not blunted. One who spends the

greater part of his time in the study of foreign literatures, loses the finer appreciation of his own, just as a British traveller who has been continuously speaking French or German on the Continent for a month or two will on his return to his own country begin by speaking rather halting English. The translator from Latin, then, must know the Latin language and literature, but his English translation will always benefit by the criticism of one whose special acquirement is a fine sense for English. Professor G. G. Ramsay, in the preface to his translation of *The Annals of Tacitus* (John Murray), says: "My greatest debt of all is to the acute word-by-word criticism of one whose fine sense of what is pure and perspicuous in English recalls the well-known passage in which Cicero speaks of the beautiful simple Latin which he had heard spoken in his youth by the cultivated ladies of the time" (vol. i., p. ix.); also: "I have again derived great benefit from the criticism of one whose sense of what is clear and idiomatic in English is not overborne by any knowledge of the language of the original" (vol. ii., p. x).

Our ideal in translation is to produce on the minds of our readers as nearly as possible the same effect as was produced by the original on its readers. This has been attempted in more than one way, but in my opinion every attempt which is not based upon a fine sense of the value of Latin words and on a careful attention to each word in every sentence, is built upon a rotten foundation and doomed to failure. The glamour of a fine English style has given many such productions a false repute, but even the best of them grossly mislead the reader in many crucial places. Every word should be represented somehow in the

translation, except where (as sometimes in the case of particles: see below) the omission of a word improves the English and takes nothing from the meaning. The exact form of the Latin need not, often indeed cannot, be followed. An English noun, for example, may often represent a verb or even a clause in the Latin: *Hannibalem uincere ante omnia cupiebat Scipio* might be translated: "It was Scipio's great ambition to conquer Hannibal." The first and most important thing is to examine the sentence first in every part and then as a whole, and thus to extract its full meaning. Then, and not till then, comes the question of the most effective English in which to express that meaning. With regard to the general style of a rendering I venture to think that the conscious imitation of any one master of English is to be deprecated. Imitation can scarcely avoid degenerating into travesty, and in any case the chances are that the classical student has not had sufficient time to spare from his own studies to acquire also the special knowledge of an English author requisite for such a purpose.¹ But he should certainly form his own notions of what is worthy English by reading, if possible aloud, a number of the best writers, prose and poetical, of the past seven or eight centuries. Latin literature is the literature of common sense, and the plainer and more direct our English is, the better it will represent the original. Yet a certain flavour of the antique and the foreign may make a translation more effectivé and add to its charm.

¹ A reviewer of my translation of Tertullian's *Apologeticus* suggested that I should have imitated Carlyle. I do not know him nearly well enough to attempt such a task, even if I deemed the attempt desirable.

How is one to learn the precise value of Latin words and sentences? The process is not so simple as it would appear at first. It is essential to soak oneself in Latin literature: the more one is steeped in it the better. For the knowledge of individual words, it is not enough to consult the first Latin-English dictionary that comes to hand. The dictionary of Lewis and Short (Clarendon Press), which is best known to our advanced students, has been praised by Professor J. P. Postgate for its arrangement of the different meanings of words, but in three respects at least it is defective. The necessity for compression has compelled them to give references where quotations are desirable; the English equivalents are not always the best; and the statements with regard to the extent of the usage of particular words are utterly untrustworthy. To develop the accurate sense of usage the student must employ Forcellini (for example, as translated by Bailey) or Scheller (as translated by Riddle: Clarendon Press). He will find better English equivalents for Latin words in such an old dictionary as Ainsworth (in various forms), and may sometimes have to turn to Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* (Longmans) for the right word. If it is poetry he is translating, he will find *The Faery Queene* of Spenser, "the poet's poet," a perfect mine of poetic diction. In none of seven Latin-English dictionaries that I have consulted do I find 'casement,' a word of which Tennyson was so fond, as a rendering of 'fenestra.' Thirdly, to ascertain something like the truth about the extent of a word's usage, one must still consult, as the late Professor John E. B. Mayor did, about a hundred volumes.

To the student of the late authors, for whom this

paper is especially intended, a word of caution is necessary. It must in fact be admitted that even those scholars whose daily business it is to study late authors are continually making surprising discoveries, and have continually to admit their ignorance. Without a special lexicon to authors like Apuleius or Tertullian, the most careful and best intentioned translator may go wrong. Very often he will have nothing to trust to but his common sense. Yet there are numerous helps even in these early days of the critical study of late authors, and it is the object of another pamphlet entitled *Hints on the Study of Latin* to direct the attention of the translator to as many such works as possible. Meantime our object is of a more general character, and a warning is at this stage sufficient.

Latin is probably known to more English-speaking persons than is any other language, ancient or modern. Yet in most cases this knowledge is specious rather than real. How many even among our better students of Latin know that *debilis* means 'maimed,' *debilito*, 'I maim';¹ that *pagina* means 'a (narrow) column of writing (on papyrus)'; that *pallidus* means 'yellow,' 'sallow' (the colour of gold);² *castigo*, 'I reprove'; *coepi*, 'I began' (not 'I begin'); *comes*, 'an attendant, follower' (not 'a companion'); *diligens*, 'careful,' 'exact,' 'paying attention to detail,' 'scrupulous'; *versus*, 'a line' (of prose as often as of verse); *patria*, 'native city' or 'native town'; *populus*, the collection

¹ See Professor John E. B. Mayor's *Latin Heptateuch* (London, 1889), pp. 104 f., and add to his examples Suet., Aug. 43; Iren., iv. 33, 9; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, lxvii., p. 1035a.

² See Postgate, *Sermo Latinus*, preface.

of *cives* of one particular community or city, and therefore not to be rendered by 'people' = 'nation'? The dictionaries are not clear about these things, the teachers do not know them, and the pupils do not discover them. The best of dictionaries will sometimes fail to give the true fact, and no dictionary should be ignored because it is old.

But we need grammars as well as dictionaries. Their number is legion, and the mention of merely a few here must not be taken to imply any criticism of the unmentioned. Among the larger works that of Roby (Macmillan) still retains its value. Roby's cast of mind and acquirements peculiarly fitted him to deal with the Latin language, and his classification of usages with examples retains its value. Of foreign works, the grammar of Stolz and Schmalz (4th edition, Beck, Munich, in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch*) is well arranged, covers several centuries more than Roby's, and has an excellent and comprehensive bibliography. The fitful appearance of parts of the *Historische Lateinische Grammatik* of Blase, Landgraf, and others (Teubner, Leipzig) lessens the value of what, if complete, might be the best of all Latin grammars. Of valuable works of medium size, *The Latin Grammar* of Gildersleeve and Lodge (Macmillan) and the *Syntaxe Latine* of Riemann and Lejay (Paris, Klincksieck) are thoroughly trustworthy, and should be constantly consulted. Of smaller size, *The New Latin Primer* of Postgate and Vince (Cassell, 1918 edition), *A New Latin Grammar* by Sonnenschein (Clarendon Press), and the recently published *Grammaire Historique Latine* of L. Laurand (Paris, Picard) are valuable even to advanced students. The last is a marvel of condensation.

sation and contains a good deal bearing on the later period.

In preparing this paper I have had especially in mind the translators of Latin prose, as the relics of Latin prose literature greatly exceed those of verse. But in view of the considerable quantity of Latin poetry that has survived, it is necessary to call attention to special difficulties which face the translator of Latin verse. It is sometimes assumed that many of the peculiarities of Latin verse diction are due merely to the desire of the poet to use language different from that of prose. To suppose this is to be unjust to the poet and to forget the mechanical restrictions of metre. These were very real, and yet so far as I know there has not been as yet any serious attempt made to tabulate them. A hint given by Mr. J. D. Duff in the preface to his edition of Juvenal (Cambridge University Press) can be most fruitfully followed up. A table should be compiled of all, or at least the most common, words and forms that cannot be admitted into the hexameter line. The later poets for the most part shared neither Virgil's skill nor his daring in their handling of the hexameter. They were driven to certain rather clumsy expedients, to get over the difficulty of metrical restrictions. Four of the devices employed by them may be mentioned. Certain proper names or adjectives, especially in the oblique cases, will not go into the line: e.g., *Aegyptius*, *Romanus* (the three long syllables here impart a solemnity to the verse which the poet may not desire): the poets therefore employ *Phärius*, *Parae-tonius*, etc., for the former and *Lätius* for the latter. Certain everyday words are excluded: *imperator* (unless one follows the antiquarian Lucretius with *indu-*

perator), oblique cases of *filius*, the form *arbores*, etc. The unfortunate poet wishes to use these words, but he has to be content with *dux*, *nati* (occasionally *iuvenes*, etc.), and *arbusta* (*nemus*, *silua*,¹ etc.). In other cases the plur. acc. will be used to avoid the hiatus caused by the sing. acc., which is what the poet wishes to use. Very frequently, too, the short syllables of the present infinitive give place to the more metrically suitable perfect infinitive (e.g., Virg., *Aen.* vi. 79), and we find grammarians trying to give the latter a special force at times when it is a mere metrical substitute for the present. The moral of all this is that our translator of Latin poetry must give in his translation the equivalent of the word the poet meant to use, and not that of the word form he actually uses. What he meant to say must be left to the common sense of the translator to discover.

A few specimens of translations will be found in the following pages: they have been selected to illustrate successful overcoming of the difficulties which we have been discussing.

¹ E.g., Virg., *Geo.* ii. 26.

I.

“ Iste,” inquias, “ iudices, qui se dici diuitemi putat esse praeclarum, prium nunc uidete quo uoltu nos intueatur. Nonne uobis uidetur dicere: Darem, si mihi molesti non essetis? Cum uero sinistra mentum subleuauit, existumat se gemmae nitore et auri splendore aspectus omnium perstringere. Cum puerum respicit hunc unum quem ego noui—uos non arbitror—alio nomine appellat, deinde alio atque alio. ‘ At heus tu,’ inquit, ‘ ueni, Sannio, nequid isti barbari turbent’; ut ignoti qui audiunt, unum putent selegi de multis: ei dicit in aurem, ut aut domi lectuli sternantur aut ab auonculo rogetur Aethiops qui ad balneas ueniat, aut asturconi locus ante ostium suum detur, aut aliquod fragile falsae choragium gloriae comparetur. Deinde exclamat ut omnes audiant: ‘ Videto ut diligenter numerentur, si potest, ante noctem.’ Puer qui iam bene naturam nouit: ‘ Tu illo plures mittas oportet,’ inquit, ‘ si hodie uis transnumerari.’ ‘ Age,’ inquit, ‘ duc tecum Libanum et Sosiam.’ ‘ Sane.’ ”

CORNIFICUS: *Ad C. Herennium IV. 63.*

I.

You will say: " See that creature there, gentlemen, who imagines it a fine thing to hear himself called a wealthy man—in the first place, what a look he bestows on us! Does he not seem to you to say: ' I would give you something if you only would not annoy me '? When again he props his chin on his left hand, he believes that he dazzles all onlookers by his glittering ring and his gleaming gold. When he glances at his servant here—his only one, whom I know well, though I do not suppose that you know him, he addresses him first by one name, then by another, then by another again. ' Here, Sannio,' says he, ' come along and do not let those savages jostle you ' ; this to make strangers who are listening think that he is singling out one from a large number; he then whispers to the servant, either to go and lay the table at home, or to beg his uncle's permission for a black slave to attend him to the bath, or for the Spanish barb to be posted before his front door, or the slave is to get ready some other trivial trapping for his spurious magnificence. Then he calls out loud so that all may hear: ' See that you get that money carefully counted over before dark.' The servant, who by this time quite understands his master's vein, says: ' You must send more men to the place if you want the money to be paid over to-day.' ' Well, well,' says he, ' take Libanus and Sosia with you.' ' Yes, sir.' "

J. S. REID.¹

¹ By kind permission of my former tutor, Professor J. S. Reid, to whom I am indebted also for III. and IV.

II.

Aeneadum genetrix, hominum diuomque uoluptas,
alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
quae mare nauigerum, quae terras frugiferentis
concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
concipitur uisitque exortum lumina solis :
te, dea, te fugiunt uenti, te nubila caeli
aduentumque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus
summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti
placatumque nitet diffuso lumine cælum.
nam simul ac species patefactast uerna diei
et reserata uiget genitabilis aura fauoni,
aeriae primum uolucres te, diua, tuomque
significant initum percultaæ corda tua ui.
inde ferae pecudes persulant pabula laeta
et rapidos tranant amnis : ita capta lepore
te sequitur cupide quo quamque inducere pergis.
denique per maria ac montis fluuiosque rapacis
frondiferasque domos auium camposque uirentis
omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem
efficis ut cupide generatim saecla propagent.
quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas
nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quicquam,
te sociam studeo scribendis uersibus esse
quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor
Memmiadae nostro, quem tua, tempore in omni
omnibus ornatum uoluisti excellere rebus.
quo magis aeternum da dictis, diua, leporem.
effice ut interea fera moenera militiæ
per maria ac terras omnis sopita quiescant.
nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuuare

FROM LATIN INTO ENGLISH

II.

Mother of the Aeneadae, darling of men and gods, increase-giving Venus, who beneath the gliding signs of heaven fillest with thy presence the ship-carrying sea, the corn-bearing lands, since through thee every kind of living things is conceived, rises up, and beholds the light of the sun. Before thee, goddess, flee the winds, the clouds of heaven; before thee and thy advent; for thee earth manifold in works puts forth sweet-smelling flowers; for thee the levels of the sea do laugh and heaven propitiated shines with outspread light. For soon as the vernal aspect of day is disclosed, and the birth-favouring breeze of favonius unbarred is blowing fresh, first the fowls of the air, O Lady, shew signs of thee and thy entering in, thoroughly smitten in heart by thy power. Next the wild herds bound over the glad pastures and swim the rapid rivers: in such wise each made prisoner by thy charms follows thee with desire, whither thou goest to lead it on. Yes, throughout seas and mountains and sweeping rivers and leafy homes of birds and grassy plains, striking fond love into the breasts of all, thou constrainest them each after its kind to continue their races with desire. Since thou then art sole mistress of the nature of things and without thee nothing rises up into the divine tracts¹ of light, nothing grows to be glad or lovely, fain would I have thee for a helpmate in writing the verses which I essay to pen on the nature of things for our own Memmius,²

¹ Munro ‘borders.’

² Munro ‘son of the Memmii’; to my mind *Memmiadae* is used merely because *Memmio* is a cretic (see above, p. 12). Cf. the barbarous *Scipiada*.

mortalis, quoniam belli fera moenera Mauors
 armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se
 reicit aeterno deuictus uolnere amoris,
 atque ita suspiciens tereti ceruice reposta
 pascit amore auidos inhians in te, dea, uisus,
 eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore.

hunc tu, diua, tuo recubantem corpore sancto
 circumfusa super, suavis ex ore loquellas
 funde petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.
 nam neque nos agere hoc patriai tempore iniquo
 possumus aequo animo nec Memmi clara propago
 talibus in rebus communi desse saluti.

Lucretius : De Rerum Natura I. 1-43.

III.

Quam grauis uero, quam magnifica, quam constans
 conficitur persona sapientis! qui, cum ratio docuerit
 quod honestum esset, id esse solum bonum, semper sit
 necesse est beatus uereque omnia ista nomina possideat,
 quae irrideri ab imperitis solent. Rectius enim
 appellabitur rex quam Tarquinius, qui nec se nec suos
 regere potuit, rectius magister populi (is enim est
 dictator) quam Sulla, qui trium pestiferorum uitiorum,
 luxuria, auaritiae, crudelitatis magister fuit, rectius
 diues quam Crassus, qui nisi eguisset, numquam
 Euphraten nulla belli caussa transire uoluisset; recte

whom thou, goddess, hast willed to have no peer, rich as he ever is in every grace. Wherefore all the more, O lady, lend my lays an everliving charm. Cause meanwhile the savage works of war to be lulled to rest throughout all seas and lands; for thou alone canst bless mankind with calm peace, seeing that Mavors lord of battle controls the savage works of war, Mavors who often flings himself into thy lap quite vanquished by the never-healing wound of love; and then with upturned face and shapely neck thrown back feeds with love his greedy sight, gazing, goddess, open-mouthed on thee; and as backward he reclines, his breath stays hanging on thy lips. While then, lady, he is reposing on thy holy body, shed thyself about him and above, and pour from thy lips sweet discourse, asking, glorious dame, gentle peace for the Romans. For neither can we in our City's¹ day of trouble with untroubled mind think only of our work, nor can the illustrious offset of Memmius in times like these be wanting to the general weal.

H. A. J. MUNRO.²

III.

And yet how lofty, how unwavering, the character of the wise man is shewn to be! He, inasmuch as true reason has proved to him that what is moral is alone good, must of necessity enjoy perpetual happiness and must in very truth be in possession of all those titles which the ignorant deride. He will be styled a king by a fairer right than Tarquin, who was too feeble to

¹ Munro 'country's'; but the meaning of *patria* is beyond doubt, and here the English does not seem to suffer by a literal rendering of the ancient word.

² By kind permission of Messrs. George Bell and Sons.

cius omnia dicentur, qui scit uti solus omnibus, recte etiam pulcher appellabitur (*animi enim liniamenta sunt pulchriora quam corporis*), recte solus liber nec dominationi cuiusquam parens neque obnoxius cupiditati, recte inuictus, cuius etiam si corpus constringatur, animo tamen uincula inici nulla possint, neque exspectet ullum tempus aetatis, ut tum denique iudicetur beatusne fuerit, cum extremum uitae diem morte confecerit, quod ille unus e septem sapientibus non sapienter Croesum monuit. Nam si beatus umquam fuisset, beatam uitam usque ad illum a Cyro exstructum rogam pertulisset. Quod si ita est ut neque quisquam nisi bonus uir et omnes boni beati sint, quid philosophia magis colendum aut quid est uirtute diuinus?

CICERO : *De Finibus* III. §§ 75, 76.

IV.

Erras, meorum fur auare librorum,
fieri poetam posse qui putas tanti,
scriptura quanti constet et tomus uilis;
non sex paratur aut decem sophos nummis.
secretæ quaere carmina et rudes curas

govern either himself or his people, and lord of the nation (for such is the dictator) by a fairer claim than Sulla, who was lord of three baneful vices, self-indulgence, greed, and barbarity, rich by a fairer title than Crassus, who but for his wants would never have sought to cross the Euphrates, without reason for declaring war. It will be right to say that all things are his, who alone knows how to use all things; right to call him beautiful, since the features of the mind are fairer than those of the body, right to name him the only freeman, for he bows to no tyranny nor yields to any passion, right to declare him invincible, since, though his body may be chained, no shackles can be cast round his mind.¹ Nor would he ever wait for any period of life, that the question whether he has enjoyed happiness may be decided after he has spent in dying the last day of his existence; such was the far from sage advice given to Croesus by one of the seven sages. For if he had been happy he would have carried his happiness with him to the funeral pyre built for him by Cyrus. Now if it is true that no one but the good man is happy and all good men are happy, what is there more deserving of worship than philosophy, or more divinely glorious than virtue?

J. S. REID.

IV.

You're wrong, you greedy thief of my writings, when you think you can turn poet at the cost of the scrivener's fee and a quire of cheap paper. You cannot win

¹ Cf. one of the noblest lines of ancient literature (from a lost tragedy of Sophocles): *τὸ σῶμα δοῦλον, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς ἐλεύθερος.*

quas nouit unus serinioque signatas
 custodit ipse uirginis pater chartae,
 quae trita duro non inhorruit mento.
 mutare dominum non potest liber notus.
 sed pumicata fronte siquis est nondum
 nec umbilicis cultus atque membrana,
 mercare: tales habeo; nec sciет quisquam.
 aliena quisquis recitat et petit famam,
 non emere librum, sed silentium debet.

MARTIAL: *Epigr.* I. 66.

V.

Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam
 quasi conuincendum ad scelus di praebuere. nec multum
 erat progressa nauis, duobus e numero familiarium
 Agrippinam comitantibus, ex quis Crepereius Gallus
 haud procul gubernaculis adstabat, Acerronia super
 pedes cubitantis reclinis paenitentiam filii et reciperatam
 matris gratiam per gaudium memorabat, cum dato signo
 ruere tectum loci multo plumbo graue; pressusque
 Crepereius et statim exanimatus est. Agrippina et
 Acerronia eminentibus lecti parietibus ac forte ualidi-
 oribus quam ut oneri cederent, protectae sunt. nec
 dissolutio nauigii sequebatur; turbatis omnibus et quod
 plerique ignari etiam conscos impediebant. uisum
 dehinc remigibus unum in latus inclinare atque ita
 nauem submergere, sed neque ipsis promptus in rem
 subitam consensus, et alii contra nitentes dedere facul-
 tam leuioris in mare iactus. uerum Acerronia, inpru-
 dentia dum se Agrippinam esse utque subueniretur

applause for six or seven shillings. Look out for poems that are hidden away and rough studies known to one man only, and guarded still under the seal of the desk by the parent himself of the maiden volume, which has not yet been roughened by contact with hard chins. A book already public cannot change its lord. But buy one that is not yet adorned with roll-ends smoothed by pumice, and with bosses and leather—I have such books—and then no one shall know. Any one who declaims the works of another, and so seeks glory, ought to pay not for the book, but for tongues to keep quiet.

J. S. REID.

V.

The night was bright with stars and the sea unruffled, as though the Gods had provided for the exposure of the crime. Agrippina was accompanied by two of her intimate friends, Crepereius Gallus and Acerronia. The former was standing near the helm, the latter was bending over the feet of Agrippina as she reclined upon a couch, talking happily to her of the change in her son's mood, and her own restoration to favour, when at a given signal, before the ship had gone very far, down came the canopy, which had been heavily weighted with lead, crushing Crepereius and killing him on the spot. Agrippina and Acerronia were saved by the projecting sides of the couch, which were strong enough to resist the weight falling on it; the ship failed to go to pieces; while amid the general confusion the majority, who knew nothing, interfered with those who were in the secret.

The sailors then attempted to upset the vessel by

matri principis clamitat, contis et remis et, quae fors obtulerat, naualibus telis conficitur. Agrippina silens eoque minus adgnita (unum tamen uulnus umero excepit) nando, deinde occursu lenunculorum Lucrinum in lacum uecta suaue uillae infertur.

TACITUS: *Ab Excessu Diui Augusti libri XIV. 5.*

VI.

Sic profata virgo conticuit ingressuque iam ualido pompa populi prosequentis sese miscuit. itur ad constitutum scopulum montis ardui, cuius in summo cacumine statutam puellam cuncti deserunt, taedasque nuptiales quibus praeluxerant, ibidem lacrimis suis extinctas relinquentes, deiectis capitibus domuitionem parant. et miseri quidem parentes eius tanta clade defessi, clausae domus abstrusi tenebris, perpetuae nocti sese dedidere. Psychen autem pauentem ac trepidam et in ipso scopuli uertice deflentem mitis aura molliter spirantis zephyri, uibratis hinc inde laciniis et refiato sinu sensim leuatam suo tranquillo spiritu uehens paulatim per deuexa rupis excelsae, uallis subditae florentis caespitis gremio leniter delapsam reclinat.

APULEIUS: *Metamorphoses IV. 35.*

leaning over to one side; but in the scurry of the moment they failed to act together, some throwing their weight the wrong way, and so giving Agrippina the chance of falling gently into the water. Acerronia imprudently called out that she was Agrippina, crying *Help! help! save the mother of the Emperor!* whereupon she was despatched by poles and oars and any naval weapons that came handy. Agrippina held her tongue, and thus escaping recognition, swam off, with nothing worse than a bruised shoulder; then falling in with some fishing boats, she was conveyed to the Lucrine lake and thence to her own villa.

G. G. RAMSAY.¹

VI.

She was silent, and with firm step went on the way. And they proceeded to the appointed place on a steep mountain, and left there the maiden alone, and took their way homewards dejectedly. The wretched parents, in their close-shut house, yielded themselves to perpetual night; while to Psyche, fearful and trembling and weeping sore upon the mountain-top, comes the gentle Zephyrus. He lifts her gently, and, with vesture floating on either side, bears her by his own soft breathing over the windings of the hills, and sets her lightly among the flowers in the bosom of a valley below.

WALTER PATER.²

¹ By kind permission of Mr. John Murray.

² *Marius the Epicurean*, vol. i. (London, 1885), p. 70, by kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan and Co. This passage is given as an exquisite example of paraphrastic translation.

Even the most diffuse of Latin authors can express their thoughts in fewer words than the corresponding English requires,¹ and such writers as Tacitus and Tertullian can with difficulty be represented in English unless one employs half as many words again as are contained in the original. Obvious reasons for this difference are to be found in the more highly inflected character of Latin, the frequent absence of pronouns in the nominative case as subjects or as antecedents to relatives, the occasional omission of certain verbs, and the want of the definite and indefinite article in the earlier periods of Latin writing. In this connexion it ought to be noted that where the nominative of pronouns is expressed in Latin, it is in some way emphasized, and the English reader ought to be made aware of the fact in some way, either by the italicizing of the pronoun or by the addition of the word "self," or by the use of some such phrase as "as for you." With regard to the articles, translators of Latin are not always careful to note in a particular case whether the indefinite or the definite article is required in English: a close study of the original will make it clear which should be employed.

The value of the order of the words in Latin demands considerable attention. The beginning and the end of clauses and sentences are places where important words are put, and emphasis is often thrown upon a word or phrase by giving it an unusual position in the sentence. To secure the effect intended, it is sometimes necessary in English to make an inversion of the order of words, which may or may not involve some expansion. If we

¹ Cf. Ramsay's translation of the *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. i., pp. xxxii f., lv f.

take the words of Juvenal, *consilium dedimus Sullaे priuatus ut altum dormiret*, and translate baldly, ‘we have given advice to Sulla to sleep deeply as a private person,’ we miss a good deal of the effect of the original order, particularly as regards the position and force of *priuatus*, and we can hardly get the true force of the Latin unless we render in some such way as this: ‘We have offered advice to Sulla to give up office and enjoy a sound sleep.’ *Priuatus* is only a participle or adjective in Latin, but it is at least as important as *dormiret* in thought, and this importance must be fully brought out in the English rendering. It is only gradually that one becomes sensitive to this matter of order, partly because we are so much in the habit of reading Latin with the eye instead of the ear. As all ancient literature was written for the effect it would have through the ear, we miss very much by this failure to follow the ancient practice.

Latin books are compact structures in a sense that modern English books are not. By this I mean that in English each sentence in a paragraph or book is to a greater extent an independent whole, whose invisible link with the sentence that precedes and the sentence that follows is supplied only by the reasoning faculty of the reader. In Latin prose style, which is founded on oratory,¹ the sentences are visibly dovetailed into, or linked with, one another by various words commonly known as ‘particles.’ There is not the same strain on the reasoning faculty where the proper particle is given to show the connexion. Thus, if a sentence express a reason for the preceding statement, it will have some

¹ The orator must make sure that the audience is following his argument.

such word as *enim* at the beginning to indicate that fact. If a question, it will generally have an interrogative particle (such as *-ne* attached to the first word), almost an absolute necessity in Latin, which knew no question mark till the eighth century. If the later sentence is in contrast with what precedes, some such word as *tamen* will often be employed, and an admission which is afterwards to be qualified may be accompanied by the word *quidem*. Now, such words as these will often be best left unrendered, as alien to our modern method.

Another sign of the closer Latin style is found in the frequency of relative or other subordinate clauses, where English would be more apt to represent by a principal sentence. Take in illustration three sentences from Tertullian :

De Bapt. 7 : "Exinde egressi de lauacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina, qua ungi oleo de cornu in sacerdotio solebant; ex quo Aaron a Moyse unctus est, unde christus dicitur a chrismate, quod est unctio, quæ domino nomen accommodauit, facta spiritalis, quia spiritu unctus est a deo patre, sicut in Actis: collecti sunt enim uere in ista ciuitate aduersus sanctum filium tuum, quem unxisti."

No doubt this is a particularly glaring case. Here we have seven subordinate clauses in one sentence, relative clauses for the most part, each depending on the immediately preceding clause. How is one to render this awkward sentence in English? Clearly there must be a good deal of breaking up, and to make it anything like English, we shall have to express it thus :

"Then, leaving the bath, we are anointed all over

with blessed unction, according to the primitive practice by which priests were wont to be anointed with olive oil from a horn. This custom obtained ever since Aaron was anointed by Moses, whence he is called 'anointed' from the chrism, which means 'anointing.' This anointing, when it became spiritual, adapted its name to the Lord, for he was anointed with the spirit by God the Father, as is stated in Acts: 'For they were really gathered together in this city against Thy holy Son, whom Thou didst anoint.' "

Other sentences offering similar difficulties can be found in the same treatise:

De Bapt. 11: "Itaque tinguebant discipuli eius ut ministri, ut Iohannes antecursor, eodem baptismo Iohannis, ne qui alio putet, quia nec exstat aliis nisi postea Christi, qui tunc utique a discentibus dari non poterat, utpote nondum adimpta gloria domini, nec instructa efficacia lauacri per passionem et resurrectionem, quia nec mors nostra dissolui posset nisi domini passione nec uita restitui sine resurrectione ipsius."

From the English point of view this is a very bad sentence indeed. It must be transformed in some way. The following version may be suggested:

"Therefore his disciples baptized as his servants, as his forerunner John, with the same baptism as John's. No one must suppose that it was with a different baptism, for there is no other except that later baptism of Christ's. Christ's baptism could not, of course, be conferred at that time by the disciples, inasmuch as the Lord's glory was not yet fulfilled, and the efficacy of baptism was not yet prepared by the Passion and Resurrection. In the same way neither could our death

be annulled except by the Lord's Passion, nor could our life be restored without His Resurrection."

A final illustration of this Latin characteristic may be borrowed from the next chapter:

De Bapt. 12: "Unde et suggeritur, cum aduersantes domini tingui noluerint, eos qui dominum sequebantur tinctos fuisse nec cum aemulis suis sapuisse, maxime quando dominus cui adhaerebant, testimonio Iohannem extulisset, 'nemo,' dicens, 'maior inter natos feminarum Iohanne baptizatore.' "

This may be rendered:

"Thus, too, it is suggested that when the Lord's adversaries refused to be baptized, those who followed the Lord had been baptized and had not shared 'the wisdom' of their enemies. The chief reason for this view is the fact that the Lord, on whom they were in constant attendance, had extolled John in the following words of commendation: 'No one is greater among them that are born of women, than John the Baptizer.'

Many defects in translation from Latin may be saved by the use of good books on English composition, such as W. Murison's *English Prose Composition* (Cambridge Press), which many beyond the schoolboy stage will find worthy of study. Mr. Murison was a distinguished classical student before he took up the special study of English. The study of Latin is in fact far from useless for the study of English. Leaving out of account the fact that the majority of our best English authors have been trained in classics, and cannot therefore be fully appreciated except by those who have passed through the same training, the quality of an English prose passage cannot be tested better than by

rendering it into Latin. If it be a poor passage, its poverty will infallibly be revealed in the process. The superfluous and the fustian have to be discarded. The students of the classics ought to write weighty and expressive English.¹

Most of the Romans paid great attention to the rhythm of their sentences, as well as to the order of words. Our English translation will fail of its purpose if it does not read well aloud. Good English must show a sense of rhythm, balance, and cadence, corresponding to the rhythmic rules of the ancient rhetoricians.

But perhaps the most necessary quality for the translator is that of common sense, sound judgment. The Roman writers never wrote nonsense. They were also clear thinkers. Our translator therefore must be constantly on his guard against producing what is unworthy of his original in these respects. In the study of Latin, so severe a tax is put on the memory that the understanding often suffers from want of corresponding cultivation. We see this sometimes in ponderously learned editions. An editor at whose industry and exactness it is impossible to cavil, will not always show equal soundness of judgment, and it is necessary for this and other reasons to say something about the material on which our translator has to work. Up to this point we have assumed it to be faultless.

The accuracy of a manuscript copy approved by an ancient author may be assumed, but he could not guarantee this purity of text in future copies. The scribe, as a human being, is fallible. The scribes may be divided into two classes, those who sought to copy as accurately as possible what lay before them without

¹ Cf. Ramsay's *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. ii., pp. xliv f.

seeking to understand it, and those who were anxious to make their own production intelligible. The first class might comprise people of equal honesty, but of various accuracy. The best eye in the world is not a perfect optical instrument, and there is immense variety in the power of visualizing writing or any other object of vision. Some persons are constitutionally incapable of making even a reasonably exact copy of any document, and to very few is it given to produce a perfect copy of a document of any length. The scribes who think are in some ways even more dangerous than the scribes who seek merely to be faithful. If the scribe who thinks is a man of sound judgment, he may elicit the real thought of the writer from the corruption which is before his eyes, though it is hardly possible for him to give his exact words. But if his original has perished, he has blotted out for ever what a modern critical process might have revealed. The insecurity of our foundation in the manuscript stage is plainly apparent, and is generally acknowledged. Our translator, however, can hardly be expected to collate manuscripts of a work and construct a text before he proceeds to translate it. He will in most cases depend on one or more printed texts: And yet it will be strange if, in the throes of translation, he does not succeed in emending the text now and again.

The insecurity of which I have just spoken, is only less prevalent in the printed stage than it is in the manuscript stage. Here, instead of scribes, you have to deal with compositors and editors, competent and incompetent, careful and careless. Editors of English classics have to face this difficulty, as has been so finely pointed out in a leading article entitled "The Textual

Criticism of English Classics " in *The Times* Literary Supplement for March 20, 1919. But editors and translators of Latin texts have to exercise at least equal caution. The discovery that this was true, at any rate in the case of the later Latin authors, startled me so greatly some ten years ago that I may be pardoned for assuming that the fact is not as widely known as it ought to be. Let me illustrate from two cases.

In 1516 a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, attributed in an ancient manuscript to St. Jerome, was published by Erasmus in the ninth (and last) volume of his edition of that Father's works. It has appeared in all succeeding editions of Jerome—namely, those of Victorius, Martianay, Vallarsi, and Migne. There are two editions of Vallarsi and two of Migne. The later edition of Migne, which is in fact the latest published edition of this commentary, appeared in 1865. The thorough badness of that text will be evident to anyone who reads it carefully. Knowing that hardly a scholar had made any attempt to purify this text in the course of the 350 years that had elapsed since the publication of Erasmus's edition, I assumed that every defect of this edition would appear in the *editio princeps*, and took it upon me to blame the original editor. Later I made a complete collation of the *editio princeps* with Migne (1865), and was startled to find that a large number of the more serious defects of Migne were not present in the *editio princeps* at all, that in fact a very considerable number of the errors were due simply to the carelessness of compositors and editors. In some cases modern scholars had restored by emendation what was already found rightly in the *editio princeps*, and ought to have been in every succeeding edition!

Investigations proved that the majority of these inex-
cusable errors were first to be found in Vallarsi's later
edition (1766-1772), of which Migne is a reprint. It
happens also that I discovered the only manuscript,
known to the first editor, and thus was able to show
that he had exercised at least as much care as was
expected of the first editor in those days. We pass to
another case.

In 1537 there appeared at Lyons a Latin commentary
on the Epistles of St. Paul under the name of
Primasius. It was reprinted at Cologne in 1538, at
Paris in 1543, and afterwards in De la Bigne's
Bibliotheca Patrum, from which it was reprinted in
Migne's collection (1866). The quality of this text is
vastly superior to that of the text just mentioned. Yet,
if one collates the *editio princeps* of 1537 with the
Migne of 1866, it will be found that in hundreds of
places the *editio princeps* is right, where Migne is
wrong. A page selected at random provides eight
instances. This is no mere expression of individual
judgment. I have collated the only known manuscript,
and in all these cases the *editio princeps* has the
support of that manuscript. A critical comparison of
Fausset's edition of Novatian *De Trinitate* (Cambridge
Press) with the older editions will astonish anyone who
attempts the task.

The moral of all this is that our translator cannot
rely on the one latest text of his author, as of necessity
embodying—as it ought to do—everything that is right
in the texts of his predecessors. He must have all, or
as many as possible, of the editions before him. This
is a serious suggestion to make in these days when it
would seem that nearly all the copies of old editions of

Fathers are in libraries—public, cathedral, school, or monastic—where for the most part they are untouched. The few that hunger for them and would give much labour, if not money, to procure them and call them their own, are precluded from doing so by their situation. The translator may be far removed from these collections, to which liberal access is granted, and unable really to utilize them. I have often thought that, as an indispensable preliminary, a comprehensive catalogue of at least the older portions of our English cathedral collections—I do not mean *incunabula* exclusively by any means—would be invaluable. This at least is certain, that our translator must study the older editions, annotated and unannotated, if he is to produce the best results.

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BY

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AB



HINTS ON THE STUDY OF LATIN

(A.D. 125–750)

LATIN literature may be conveniently, if somewhat arbitrarily, divided into a number of periods. The first period might be called the pre-Ciceronian, and would include the works of Plautus, Terence, Cato, and various fragments. The second period is the Ciceronian, of which Cicero and Cæsar are the great representatives in prose. The surviving works of Cicero cover a period of nearly forty years, and enable us to trace the gradual fashioning of one of the most wonderful literary instruments ever wielded by man. His contemporary, Cæsar, is classed with him, in spite of certain differences of idiom which show themselves. In the opinion of those who have studied pagan Latin prose literature from the point of view of style, these are the greatest names. Only less great are those of the third period, which begins in Cicero's later life and may for convenience be called the Augustan period. This includes such writers as Sallust,

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Nepos, and Livy. Of the poets, Lucretius and Catullus are within the Ciceronian period, and are soon succeeded by others who fall rather within the Augustan period—Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid. Poets stand apart somewhat from the ordinary course of literary development, as they are of necessity more artificial than prose-writers, and are often consciously and deliberately antiquarian, as is, for example, Lucretius. The fourth period may be called the post-Augustan, and lasts till about A.D. 125. This period comprises such names as Manilius, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, the two Senecas, Persius, Petronius, Lucan, the two Plinies, Quintilian, Tacitus, Statius, Juvenal, and Suetonius.

These names are familiar to the classical student. If he has pursued an honours course in a university, he has read some part at least of most of these writers. Many of them are pre-Christian, and all of them are non-Christian. They have been recognized since the Renaissance by the severe humanist as alone worthy to be read or imitated. In our own day the composer of Latin prose is usually expected to imitate Cicero or Cæsar; the composer of hexameters models his work on Virgil, and the composer of elegiac verse similarly follows Ovid. The greatest scholars, men like Casaubon, Gataker, Price, Heraldus, Wasse, Bentley, to take a few names at random, widened their

own reading to the whole stretch of ancient letters, but anything beyond Suetonius has been *terra incognita* to most of our classical scholars for the past century or more. It is the post-Suetonian period, roughly speaking, that is thus shut off, and may be called for convenience our fifth period, the period of late Latin.

The beginning of this period may be fairly placed at about A.D. 125, but it is not so easy to assign an end to it. In a sense it is not ended yet, as Latin is still handled with freedom by certain at least of the Roman Catholic clergy, as well as by a few scholars not belonging to that body. Until about a century ago Latin was in regular use by members of all Faculties in our Western universities. But I take it that the reader of this pamphlet is mainly concerned with a somewhat shorter period than that thus indicated. We can set various bounds even to this shorter period. Some will draw the line at the middle of the fifth century, others at the end of the sixth century, yet others at the death of the Venerable Bede (A.D. 734); others will include the Carolingian period, and yet others will embrace the whole of the Scholastic period within their interests. It is improbable that many will turn to the present paper for help in the study of such exquisite Latin as we find in the works of Erasmus. The present writer must at once avow his limitations. He claims no know-

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ledge of Latin after the ninth century, and little of Latin after the middle of the fifth century. Regarding, as I do, the period A.D. 350 to 450 as the Golden Age of the later Latin literature, I will confine most of my remarks to the authors of that period, the period of Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.

It is surely less necessary than before to recommend students to make an acquaintance with the later Latin authors. The principle of the "survival of the fittest" has operated in the preservation of Latin literature. It is very remarkable how little that is really objectionable in Latin literature has survived to our time. Some pagan authors have been saved, as it were, by a miracle, but most of the Christian Latin literature that existed in the sixth century still survives. And not only this: it survives in an accurate and trustworthy text such as few pagan authors can claim. I do not necessarily mean that the reader can find such texts in print in every case, but rather that in the vast majority of cases the manuscript materials for the construction of such texts still exist. And the literature is by no means exclusively Christian. Our period includes Florus, Justin, Fronto, Gellius, Apuleius, Firmicus Maternus,¹ Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ, Panegyrici

¹ In his case we have one work belonging to his unconverted state (*Mathesis*), and a much shorter work belonging to his Christian period (*De Errorre Profanarum Religionum*).

Latini, Ausonius,¹ Symmachus, and Claudian,¹ to take only a few names. The whole period should be studied without any reference to the religious beliefs of the writers. At least, my own point of view is that of a philologist who would seek to discover rather what unites than what separates these writers. The classical scholar will soon discover that the writers of the later period, Christian and non-Christian alike, are careful writers, some of them very careful, and that the themes on which they write are at least equal in interest and importance to those of the classical writers. They are, for the most part, men in dead earnest about their subjects. The bulk of the late literature also vastly exceeds that of the earlier; for example, the surviving works of Augustine are about six times the bulk of the surviving works of Cicero. Thus the explorer is in no way cramped; he can roam as freely as he likes over those vast and little-known tracts.

The present paper offers the reader some information, first, regarding general works on the subject of the later Latin; second, with reference to works concerned with particular authors; and third, about certain uses of words which might puzzle him.

The completest repertory of late Latin texts is

¹ Slight traces of Christianity in Ausonius and Claudian may be ignored.

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the *Patrologia Latina* of the Abbé Migne, which of necessity includes only Christian works. This great compilation contains 221 volumes, of which the last four are indexes to the whole work. It comprises a nearly complete set of such Latin Christian works written before A.D. 1200 as had been printed down to the period of its publication—that is, the middle of last century. The practice of the editor was to take in each case what was considered the best edition of an author's works, and to reprint it, preserving the original pagination by the use of thick type figures, which enable one to use the indexes, which also are reprinted from these earlier editions. The reprints, on the whole, are very accurate. A considerable portion of the publisher's stock was, however, destroyed by fire. This made it necessary to set up the missing volumes afresh. In some cases, as, for example, that of the works of Ambrose (*P. L.*, vols. xiii. to xvii.), this has been done very carelessly, with the result that the text is disfigured by a large number of misprints. The reader is advised, therefore, if he employs Migne at all, to use the original Migne. But, better still, he should, if possible, use the texts which Migne employed. Part of the Migne collection has been superseded for critical purposes by the great Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, which has been in process since 1866, and of which about sixty volumes

have appeared (down to 1916). A number of Christian Latin texts remain unprinted. The total of these, however, has been lessened by the appearance of publications like the *Spicilegium Solesmense* of Dom Pitra, O.S.B., the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, the two sets of *Anecdota Maredsolana* of Dom Germain Morin, O.S.B. (Oxford: Parker, for the first set; Paris: Picard, for the one volume of the second), and the *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, etc., of C. P. Caspari (Christiania). Certain Christian texts are also represented in the two series—B. G. Teubner's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum* (Leipzig) and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Auctores Antiquissimi*, etc.) (Berlin: Reimer)—though these series are even more important for the non-Christian part of later Latin literature. In all cases it may be assumed that a later text is better than that of Migne. Even these series, however, do not comprise everything that is necessary. For example, separate publications of importance are *Sancti Beati presbyteri Hispani Liebanensis in Apocalypsin ac plurimas utriusque fæderis paginas commentaria*, ed. Florez (Matriti, 1770), a work of which there are probably more manuscript than printed copies in existence; and H. B. Swete's *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press).

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The reader will naturally desire information about the Christian authors themselves. This he will find in Herzog-Hauck's *Real-Encyklopädie*, with its two supplementary volumes (Tübingen and Leipzig), of which a somewhat modified American edition¹ has been published by Funk and Wagnalls under the title *The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, and Pauly-Wissowa's still incomplete *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft* (Stuttgart), as far as concerns the more important authors. For all the authors, the best works to consult are O. Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*, 3 Aufl. (Freiburg: Herder), or the English translation of the second edition published by the same firm; and the same author's larger work, the still unfinished *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg: Herder). Latin authors who wrote before Eusebius are included in A. von Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur* (Leipzig: Hinrichs). For authors, Christian and non-Christian alike, the reader should use the third and fourth parts of M. Schanz's *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswork des Kaisers Justinian* (Munich: Beck), of which the fifth part is not yet published; and W. S. Teuffel's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 6^{te} Aufl., . . . neu bearbeitet von W. Kroll u. F. Skutsch, III. Bd. (Leipzig: Teubner). All these works have bibliographies.

¹ Lacking as yet the very important supplementary volumes.

As a first book nothing could be better than the late Professor Swete's work, published under the title *Patristic Study* (Longmans). It should be added that Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (John Murray) is not yet superseded.¹

At the head of the Latin dictionaries comes the *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ* (Leipzig: Teubner), the publication of which began in 1900. The letters A to C have been completed and portions of D and F. The materials for the work were collected by about two hundred scholars. The whole of Latin down to and including Tacitus, along with Tertullian and Augustine's *City of God*, was completely registered on slips. For authors later than Tacitus, with the exceptions just named, the promoters had to depend on the voluntary help of readers, who received definite tasks, and recorded what seemed to them notable on slips of an approved form and size. It is obvious, therefore, that the value of the material from late authors incorporated in the *Thesaurus* depends, for the most part, on the knowledge of Latin possessed by those contributors. Homogeneity in such a case is impossible. In Britain the work has been judged mostly from the point of view of classical Latinity. On the one

¹ For lists of editions of the Fathers, C. T. G. Schoenemann's *Bibliotheca Historico-literaria Patrum Latinorum* (Lipsiæ, 1792-1794) and J. E. B. Mayor's *Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature* (Macmillan) are indispensable.

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hand, we have Professor Lindsay¹ commending the work for the exhaustiveness with which classical Latin is recorded; on the other hand, we have Professor Housman² condemning the classification of the material in individual cases. Both are right. The classification of the material is in the hands of about a dozen young graduates of German universities, who are under the superintendence of a secretary and an editor. Their task is one of excessive difficulty, one from which far more experienced scholars than they might well shrink. Errors of various kinds in the citations have crept in, and the character of the work has suffered through the successive deaths of the three giants who revised the proofs in early days—Wölfflin, Bücheler, and Leo. But when all is said that can be said by way of criticism, the work remains a splendid monument of scholarship and industry. Nowhere else will the student find so much on the late Latin for the part of the alphabet covered. The greater part of that is pioneer work. Along with the *Thesaurus*, the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, begun in 1884 and concluded in 1907 by the appearance of the fifteenth volume, should be employed. A large quantity of valuable material on the parts of the alphabet not yet covered by the *Thesaurus* is to be found there, and

¹ *Classical Quarterly*, vol. xi. (1917), p. 41.

² *Classical Quarterly*, vol. xii. (1918), pp. 32 f.

the excellent indexes in the tenth and fifteenth volumes render this material easily accessible.

Next to the *Thesaurus* the most important work is the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Latin-Français*, by E. Benoist and H. Goelzer (Paris: Garnier Frères). This work contains more Latin words than any other dictionary, and is now in a fourth edition (originally published 1893). It incorporates not only the vocabulary as contained in the seventh edition of K. E. Georges' *Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: Hahn), but the scattered material published in the various works of H. Rönsch and Carl von Paucker. The books and articles of these two scholars are all worthy of the attention of the student of the later Latin, as they spent a lifetime enriching the Latin vocabulary from neglected sources. After the death of Paucker Rönsch collected his scattered papers, and compiled a *Supplementum Lexicorum Latinorum* (Berlin: Calvary), which reaches to the end of L, but came to an end there with the death of Rönsch. A valuable work, begun but never finished, is G. Koffmane's *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins* (2 parts published; Breslau: Koebner). Later Latin poetry is well treated in L. Quicherat's *Thesaurus Poeticus Linguæ Latinae* (Paris: Hachette). The information in all these books can be usefully supplemented and improved from the "indices verborum et locutionum" in the Vienna *Corpus*, the *Monu-*

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menta Germaniae, and the other series already mentioned, as well as from the monographs on special authors, which fall to be mentioned later. On the language of the law books there are two excellent works, Dirksen's *Manuale* (Berlin, 1857) and the *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae* (Berlin: Reimer), still unfinished.

It must be confessed with shame and confusion of face that our country has done hardly anything by way of helping this work. The dictionary most used, that of Lewis and Short, is worse than careless in regard to the late authors. The few scattered references to them would better have been left out altogether. It would be easy to fill many pages with proofs of ignorance on their part, wrong references to authors, works, passages, and wildly wrong statements with regard to usage. It may be hoped that the S.P.C.K. will itself supply a valuable corrective. The defects of Lewis and Short are well known to those who take any real interest in Latin lexicography. Professor Nettleship's *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* (Oxford University Press) ought to be in the hands of all who use Lewis and Short, but he naturally refers mainly to classical Latin. The broken promises made to Nettleship as well as to the promoters of the *Thesaurus* seem to indicate a profound aversion on the part of British scholars to the *labor improbus* which such a task involves. And yet I know from

personal experience how rich the harvest is, and how near at hand it lies.

But if Lewis and Short is negligible, the same cannot be said of some of the older dictionaries on which it depends or ought to have depended. I have again and again been startled by the valuable indications contained in the *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ* of Basilius Faber (especially as revised by Leichius, Francof, 1749). Bishop Westcott and Professor Mayor well knew the value of this book, of which the latter presented a sumptuous copy to Owens College, Manchester. Faber, as well as Forcellini, and Scheller (translated by Riddle; Oxford University Press), are all distinctly useful to the student of late Latin. It is probably because Faber arranges the words according to roots that his valuable material has not been fully incorporated by later lexicographers.

The grammar of the later writers has commanded even less attention than their vocabulary. Büne-mann, in his splendid edition of Lactantius (Lipsiæ: Walther, 1739), is the earliest commentator known to me who thinks such matters worthy of attention. In the *Lateinische Grammatik* of Stolz and Schmalz, fourth edition (Munich: Beck, 1910) a proper respect is paid to the usages of the late authors, and a most valuable list of monographs concerning them is given. Even in the unpretentious *Gram-*

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maire Historique Latine of L. Laurand (Paris: Picard) room is found for indications with regard to late Latin usage. Of comprehensive works written in English, the only one known to me that touches our subject at all is Grandgent's *Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907), and most of what we are concerned with is not vulgar Latin at all. Observations on grammatical points are not infrequently to be found in the indexes to modern critical editions.

Before proceeding to consider the helps which exist for the study of particular authors, it would perhaps be well to remind the reader that some knowledge of the subject-matter of the texts with which he is to deal is requisite. This it is no easy matter to obtain. Some of the authors with which he is concerned are provided with good old commentaries—and it is never safe to neglect old commentaries, any more than old texts—but for the great bulk of them no commentary exists; for a few there are modern commentaries, but these tend to be puerile, in the lack of great predecessors for them to draw upon. The translator may, in fact, have to make a commentary for himself, and this commentary he cannot make unless he has read a great deal round his subject. He must have read general history in such works as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Seeck's *Untergang der antiken Welt*, Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century*

of the Western Empire (Macmillan), Ozanam's *La Civilisation au cinquième Siècle* (Paris: Lecoffre), and the *Cambridge Mediæval History*. It will be necessary for him to know something of Church history, to learn to use such a storehouse as Tillemont's *Mémoires*, to profit by the profound knowledge of Bright's *Age of the Fathers* (Longmans), and to study the best books on the subject. A knowledge of Church institutions such as can be obtained from the still invaluable *Origines Ecclesiasticæ: The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, by Joseph Bingham (modern editions published by H. G. Bohn and by the Clarendon Press), will never come amiss. Not infrequently he will be led somewhat astray and encounter serious difficulties if he has not at least a slight knowledge of the history of philosophy—for example, the Neo-Platonic philosophy—and the history of Christian dogma. This last subject is minutely treated in Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, translated as *History of Dogma* (Williams and Norgate), Loofs' *Leitfaden zum Studien der Dogmengeschichte* (fourth edition; Halle: Niemeyer), and R. Seeberg's work on the same subject. It must be understood that the works mentioned in this paragraph are only a very few out of the many. Any book covering the topics of history, institutions, dogma, is better than none. The more knowledge the translator has of creeds, Christian

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worship, the Scriptures in Greek and Latin, the better.

Some of the more important late Latin authors will now be mentioned, with the best helps for their study. The arrangement will be chronological rather than alphabetical.

SECOND CENTURY.

Florus: Biography of the author in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Bd. vi., pp. 2761 *ff.* (O. Rossbach); best text by O. Rossbach (Leipzig: Teubner); best commentary by C. A. Duker (Leiden, 1744).

Fronto: Introduction in M. Dorothy Brock's *Studies in Fronto and his Age* (Cambridge University Press); best edition by Naber (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867), now out of print and scarce, shortly to be replaced by E. Hauler (Leipzig: Teubner).

Gaius: Edited with notes by J. Muirhead (Edinburgh, 1880); best text in E. Huschke's *Iurisprudentia Anteiusiniana* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908).

Gellius: Best edition by E. Hosius (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903); interesting lexical notes on him, particularly in relation to Lewis and Short's Dictionary, by C. Knapp in *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xvi. (1895), pp. 52-65 (*cf.* vol. xiv., pp. 216-225).

Apuleius : Best text of *Metamorphoses* (Golden Ass) by R. Helm, second edition (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913); best edition of the Cupid and Psyche episode is *The Story of Cupid and Psyche as related by Apuleius*, by L. C. Purser (Bell, 1910). Best commentary on the whole work by John Price (Pricæus) (Gouda, 1650). English translation of the whole work by H. E. Butler (Oxford University Press); English paraphrase of the Cupid and Psyche episode in W. Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* (Macmillan). E. Rohde's *Psyche* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1903) should also be read. Best text of the *Apologia* by R. Helm (Leipzig: Teubner); best commentary (with introduction, etc.) by H. E. Butler and A. S. Owen (Oxford University Press). Best text of the *Florida* by R. Helm (Leipzig: Teubner). Best text of the opuscula *de philosophia* by P. Thomas (Leipzig: Teubner). Best complete commentaries on his works are by Jo. Wouwer (Hamburg, 1606), the *variorum* Lyons edition (1614), Oudendorp and Bosscha (Leyden, 1786-1823).

Minucius Felix : Best text by Waltzing (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912); translation by J. H. Freese (S.P.C.K.); best commentaries by D. Heraldus (Paris, 1613), H. A. Holden (Cambridge University Press), and Waltzing (Bruges, 1909). *Index verborum* in the edition of E. Boenig (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903); *Lexicon Minucianum* by Waltzing (Liége, 1909).

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Tertullian: Best text of *De Spectaculis*, *De Idololatria*, *Ad Nationes*, *De Testimonio Animæ*, *Scorpiace*, *De Oratione*, *De Baptismo*, *De Pudicitia*, *De Ieiunio*, *De Anima*, *De Patientia*, *De Carnis Resurrectione*, *Aduersus Hermogenem*, *Aduersus Valentinianos*, [*Aduersus Omnes Hæreses*], *Aduersus Præxean*, *Aduersus Marcionem* in the Vienna *Corpus*, vols. xx. and xlvi. The best text of the rest of the works is that of F. Oehler (Lipsiæ, 1853, 1854), which contains what is the most useful complete commentary. The best separate commentaries on the *Apologeticus* are those of D. Heraldus (Paris, 1613), H. A. Woodham (Cambridge University Press), R. Heinze (subject-matter especially; Leipzig, 1910), J. P. Waltzing (Louvain, 1911), John E. B. Mayor (with translation by the present writer) (Cambridge University Press). Complete *index verborum* to the *Apology* by P. Henen (Louvain and Paris). On the text, the works of H. Schrörs, *Zur Textgeschichte und Erklärung von Tertullians Apologetikum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs); E. Löfstedt,¹ *Tertullian's Apologeticum textkritisch untersucht* (Lund and Leipzig); E. Löfstedt, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Tertullians Apologeticum* (Lund and Leipzig), are most suggestive. *Liber de Pallio*, edited by Cl. Salmasius (Leyden, 1622, 1656). A

¹ The student of the later Latin should acquire all the works of the Swedish professor, E. Löfstedt. No writer will be found more helpful.

guide to the language of Tertullian is H. Hoppe, *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian* (Leipzig: Teubner); to his theology, A. d'Alès, *La Théologie de Tertullien* (Paris, Beauchesne).

Latin Bible: Pending the appearance of Pfarrer J. Denk's collection of the fragments of the Old Latin version or versions of the Bible, to be published in four large quarto volumes by Fock of Leipzig, the reader must still employ the three folios of Sabatier (Reims, 1743-1749; Paris, 1749-1751). This can be supplemented by *Old-Latin Biblical Texts* (Oxford University Press) and other works. The best complete edition of the Vulgate is edited by Hetzenauer (Innsbruck); the best of the New Testament is the smaller edition of Wordsworth and White (Oxford University Press and British and Foreign Bible Society); down to and including the Epistle to the Romans the best edition is the larger edition of Wordsworth and White (Oxford University Press). Among various concordances to the Vulgate, that of Dutripont (Paris) may be mentioned. On the language of Biblical texts in general, the *Itala und Vulgata* of H. Rönsch (Marburg) is still important, though now capable of very considerable additions.

Irenæus: The Latin version of Irenæus is edited by A. Stieren (Leipzig) and W. W. Harvey (Cambridge University Press). The New Testament quotations with critical apparatus and copious

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introductions by W. Sanday and collaborators will shortly appear (Oxford University Press).

Festus, epitomator of Verrius Flaccus, edited by W. M. Lindsay (Leipzig: Teubner).

Ulpian in Huschke's *Iurisprudentia Anteiusciana* (Leipzig: Teubner).

THIRD CENTURY.

Porphyrio, commentator on Horace, edited with copious index by A. Holder (Innsbruck).

Cyprian: Best edition by Hartel in the Vienna *Corpus*. So far as the *Testimonia ad Quirinum* is concerned, the true readings are to be found in the apparatus before the symbol L. The best edition of the *Sententiae Episcoporum* is by H. von Soden in the Göttingen *Nachrichten* for 1907. The best account of the manuscripts of the letters is by the same writer, *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung* (Leipzig: Hinrichs), to whom we also owe the restoration of his New Testament, *Die lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (same publishers). Standard works on the language: E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, vol. iv. (Oxford University Press), L. Bayard (Paris: Hachette). The subject-matter is treated in Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian* (Macmillan). There is much recent literature on pseudo-Cyprianic writings.

Novatian: *De cibis Iudaicis*, edited by Landgraf

and Weyman, in *Arch. f. lat. Lex.*, Bd. xi.; handy edition of *De Trinitate*, by W. Y. Fausset (Cambridge University Press).

Commodian, ed. Dombart in the Vienna *Corpus*. A copious literature on this mysterious author.¹

Victorinus of Pettau, ed. Haussleiter, in the Vienna *Corpus* (published 1916).

Solinus: Edited by Mommsen for the second time (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895). Best annotated edition by Salmasius (Utrecht, 1689).

Panegyrici Latini, ed. W. Baehrens (Leipzig: Teubner). On these see R. Pichon, *Les Derniers Ecrivains Profanes de la Gaule* (Paris, Leroux).

Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Best text by H. Peter (Leipzig: Teubner); best commentaries by Is. Casaubon (Paris, 1603), *cum notis variorum* (Leyden, 1671); complete lexicon by K. Lessing (Leipzig, 1906).

FOURTH CENTURY.

Arnobius: Best text by A. Reifferscheid in the Vienna *Corpus* (valuable critical material in E. Löfstedt, *Arnobiana* [Lund and Leipzig]); best commentary by Elmenhorst (Hamburg, 1603 and 1610).

Lactantius: Best text by Brandt and Laubmann

¹ Who is much more probably to be assigned to the middle of the fifth century.

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in the Vienna *Corpus*; best commentary by J. L. Bünnemann (Leipzig, 1739).

Iulius Valerius, ed. B. Kübler (Leipzig: Teubner).

Iuuencus: Best edition by J. Huemer in Vienna *Corpus*. Neglected MSS. in Musée Plantin, Antwerp.

Nonius Marcellus: Best edition by W. M. Lindsay (Leipzig: Teubner); compare also Lindsay's *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin* (Oxford: Parker).

Firmicus Maternus: Best edition of his *Mathesis* by Kroll, Skutsch, and Ziegler (Leipzig: Teubner); best edition of his *De Errorre Profanarum Religionum* by Ziegler (Leipzig: Teubner): both with copious indexes of his language.

C. Marius Victorinus: Good edition of his grammatical works only in Keil's *Grammatici Latini* (vol. vi.) (Leipzig: Teubner).

Ælius Donatus: *Commentum Terenti*, ed. P. Wessner (Leipzig: Teubner).

Palladius, ed. C. Schmitt (Leipzig: Teubner). On his language, see Schmalz in *Glotta*, Bd. vi. (1914), pp. 172 *ff.*

Aurelius Victor, ed. Pichlmayr (Leipzig: Teubner). Best annotated edition is by H. J. Arntzen (Amsterdam, 1733).

Eutropius: Best edition by Droysen in the *Monumenta Germaniae*; best annotated edition by

H. Verheyk (Leyden, 1762, 1793). An index to him by Eichert (Breslau, 1850).

Hilarius: Best edition of the complete works¹ by P. Coustant and S. Maffei (Verona, 1730). Best text of the commentary on the Psalms by Zingerle in the Vienna *Corpus* (see also Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. cxxviii.); of the *De Mysteriis* and the historical fragments, by A. L. Feder in the Vienna *Corpus* (published 1916). A monograph on his language by I. A. Quillacq (Tours, 1903). The translation of select works, with long introduction, by E. W. Watson in *Post-Nicene Fathers* is most helpful.

Lucifer of Cagliari, ed. W. v. Hartel in the Vienna *Corpus*, with somewhat inaccurate index of Scripture passages, etc.

Zeno of Verona, ed. J. B. Giuliari (Verona, 1883, 1900); cf. E. Löfstedt, *Patristische Beiträge* (Leipzig).

Priscillian and **Instantius**,² ed. G. Schepss in the Vienna *Corpus*.

Gregory of Elvira: *De fide orthodoxa contra Arrianos* (Migne, xvii. 549, etc.); *Tractatus Origenis de Libris SS. Scripturarum*, ed. Batiffol and Wilmart (Paris, 1900); *Tractatus in Canticis Canticorum*, ed. G. Heine (Leipzig, 1848); *Arca Noe*, ed. A. Wilmart in *Revue Bénéd.*, xxvi. (1909), pp. 1 ff.; xxix. (1912), pp. 47 ff.

¹ With the exception, of course, of the recently discovered *De Mysteriis*.

² To him the tractates are now attributed by Dom Morin.

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Avienus, ed. A. Breysig (Leipzig: Teubner). Best annotated edition by H. Friesemann (Amsterdam, 1786).

Ausonius: Best ed. R. Peiper (Leipzig: Teubner).

Querolus, ed L. Havet (Paris, 1880). See also Pichon's work, cited under *Panegyrici*.

Pacianus, ed. Peyrot (Zwolle, 1896).

Optatus, ed. Ziwsa in the Vienna *Corpus*.

Filaster, ed. Marx in the Vienna *Corpus*, with excellent index. See also *Sitzungsberichte sächs*, lvi. 43. Cf. P. C. Juret, *Etude Grammaticale sur le latin de St. Filastrius* (Erlangen).

Symmachus: Best edition by O. Seeck in *Monumenta Germaniae*.

Ammianus Marcellinus: Best text by C. U. Clark (Berlin: Weidmann). Good annotated editions by F. Lindenbrog (Hamburg, 1609), Hen. Valesius (Paris, 1636), Hadr. Valesius (Paris, 1681), Jac. Gronov (Leyden, 1693).

Servius, ed. Thilo and Hagen (Leipzig: Teubner).

Pelagonius, ed. M. Ihm (Leipzig: Teubner).

Claudius Hermeros, ed. E. Oder (Leipzig: Teubner). *

Vegetius: *Epitome rei militaris*, ed. Lang (Leipzig: Teubner); *Mulomedicina*, ed. Lommatzsch (Leipzig: Teubner).

Ambrosius: Complete editions are the Roman of 1579, and the Benedictine, reprinted by Migne. The following works have appeared in the Vienna

Corpus: Exameron, De Paradiso, De Cain et Abel, De Noe, De Abraham, De Isaac, De Bono Mortis, De Iacob, De Ioseph, De Patriarchis, De Fuga Sæculi, De Interpellatione Iob et Dauid, Apologia Dauid, Apologia Dauid quæ uocatur altera, De Helia, De Nabuthæ, De Tobia, Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucan, Expositio Psalmi CXVIII. A comprehensive work on the Latinity of Ambrose is much needed.

Ambrosiaster: His commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul in the editions of the complete works of Ambrose; his *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, edited by the present writer in the Vienna *Corpus*; his fragment on Matthew, ed. C. H. Turner in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. v. (1903-1904), pp. 218 ff. His language treated in the present writer's *Study of Ambrosiaster* and index to the ed. of the *Quæstiones*.

Niceta of Remesiana, ed. A. E. Burn (Cambridge University Press). See also Carl Weyman in *Archiv*, Pd. xiv.

Hieronymus (Jerome), ed. Vallarsi (especially the earlier edition, Verona, 1734-1742), supplemented by *Anecdota Maredsolana*, ed. Morin, vol. iii. (3 parts). Best edition of Epistles (1-120) by Hilberg, and of the commentary on Jeremiah by Reiter in the Vienna *Corpus*. On his language an excellent monograph by H. Goelzer, *Etude Lexicographique et Grammaticale de la Latinité de Saint Jérôme* (Paris: Hachette).

FIFTH CENTURY.

Rufinus: The only critical editions of Rufinus are that of Engelbrecht in the Vienna *Corpus*, which covers only his translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies, and that of Koetzscha in the Prussian Academy's *Kirchenväter*, which contains only his translation of Origen, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν (*De Principiis*). Migne, *P. L.*, xxi., contains only his independent works; his translations must be sought, for the most part, in complete editions of the Greek originals.

Prudentius: The latest edition is by A. Dressel (Leipzig, 1860), which will be superseded by the Vienna edition of J. Bergman, who began a *Lexicon Prudentianum* at Upsala in 1894. Important annotated editions by Nic. Heinsius (Amsterdam, 1667) and Chr. Cellarius (Halle, 1703, 1739). The Delphin edition contains a complete index.

Paulinus of Nola: The best edition is by V. v. Hartel in the Vienna *Corpus*. The best annotated editions are those of J. B. Lebrun des Marettes (Paris, 1684) and L. A. Muratori (Verona, 1736). A monograph on his language will be published by J. H. Baxter of Glasgow University; that of M. Philipp (Erlangen, 1904) is incomplete and slight.

Claudian: The best texts are those of Birt (*Monumenta Germaniae*) and Koch (Leipzig: Teubner); the best commentaries are by Nic. Heinsius

(Leyden, 1650, etc.) and by J. M. Gesner (Leipzig, 1759).

Augustine: The best complete edition is that of the Benedictines of St. Maur (Paris, 1679-1700); all the later reprints of this are inferior to the original. The best edition of the *Confessions* is by Gibb and Montgomery (Cambridge University Press), of the *City of God* by B. Dombart, third edition (Leipzig: Teubner), of the *Ars grammatica* in Keil's *Grammatici Latini*. The following works have appeared in the Vienna *Corpus*:¹ *Speculum, De Utilitate Credendi, De Duabus Animabus, Contra Fortunatum, Contra Adimantum, Contra Epistulam Fundamenti, Contra Faustum, Contra Felicem, De Natura Boni, Secundini Epistula, Contra Secundinum, De Genesi ad Litteram, Locutiones in Heptateuchum, Quæstiones in Heptateuchum, Adnotationes in Iob, Confessiones, Epistulæ, Retractationes, De Civitate Dei, De Fide et Symbolo, De Fide et Operibus, De Agone Christiano, De Continentia, De Bono Coniugali, De Sancta Virginitate, De Bono Viduitatis, De Adulterinis Coniugiis, De Mendacio, Contra Mendacium, De Opere Monachorum, De Diuinatione Dæmonum, De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda, De Patientia, De Perfectione Iustitiae Hominis, De Gestis Pelagii, De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia, De Consensu Euangelistarum*, all the anti-Donatist

• 1 The order is roughly the order of publication.

works, *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione et de Baptismo Parvulorum*, *De Spiritu et Littera*, *De Natura et Gratia*, *De Natura et Origine Animæ*, *Contra Duas Epistulas Pelagianorum*. The only works on Augustine's language worthy of mention are the indexes of words and expressions in the Vienna *Corpus*, vols. liii. and lx. (J. H. Baxter and the present writer have independently made considerable manuscript collections on his language, which we shall be glad to consult for the benefit of any scholar interested.) It is understood that a complete concordance to Augustine exists in the library of the Benedictine house of St. Bonifaz in Munich.¹

Sulpicius Severus: Best text of the complete works by Halm in the Vienna *Corpus*; best edition of the *Chronica*, with French translation and commentary, by Lavertujon (Paris: Hachette). Monographs on his language by Paucker (Berlin, 1883) and Goelzer (Paris, 1883). On the text of the *Vita S. Martini* Dr. Gwynn's *Liber Ardmachanus* (Dublin University Press) should be consulted.

Tyconius: Best text of the *Rules* by F. C. Burkitt (Cambridge University Press).

Pelagius: A critical edition of the works of this author is much needed. The writer hopes to

¹ In this connection the *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle* of the late Dom P. Odilo Rottmanner (Munich: Lentner, 1908) should be mentioned.

supply one of the *Expositions on Thirteen Epistles of St Paul*, never before printed in its original form.

Macrobius: Best text by Eyssenhardt, second edition (Leipzig: Teubner).

Marcellus Empiricus, ed. Helmreich (Leipzig: Teubner). A monograph on his language by Chabert (Paris, 1897).

Theodore Priscian, ed. Rose (Leipzig: Teubner).

Avianus, ed. R. Ellis (London, 1887). Good early edition by Cannegieter (Amsterdam, 1731), with complete index.

Martianus Capella: There is as yet no satisfactory text. The best edition is by U. F. Kopp (Frankfurt a. M., 1836).

Rutilius Namatianus, ed. C. H. Keene, with translation and commentary (Bell). Cf. J. S. Gruber (Nürnberg, 1804).

Orosius, ed. Zangemeister in Vienna *Corpus* (smaller edition, Leipzig: Teubner).

Marius Mercator, ed. Garnier (Paris, 1673), with copious dissertations; ed. Baluze (Paris, 1684).

Cassian, ed. Petschenig in the Vienna *Corpus*, with valuable indexes.

Eucherius:¹ Part of the works edited by Wotke in the Vienna *Corpus*. Complete collations of the manuscripts exist among the papers of the late Dr. Alfred Holder of Karlsruhe (*ob. 1916*).

¹ See P. S. Allen's *Opus Epist. Des. Erasmi*, vol. iii., p. 98 (No. 676).

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Vincent of Lerins, ed. Moxon (Cambridge University Press).

Leo, ed. P. and H. Ballerini (Venice, 1755 *ff.*). See also C. H. Turner, *The Collection of the Dogmatic Letters of St. Leo* in *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan, 1910).

Prosper: His *Chronicle* in *Monumenta Germaniæ*, ed. by Mommsen. On the falsely attributed *De Promissionibus et Prædictionibus Dei*, see *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, vol. iv. (Rome, 1913), pp. 227 *ff.*

Patrick: Edited, and translated by N. J. D. White (S.P.C.K.).

Codex Theodosianus, ed. Mommsen and Meyer (Berlin: Reimer).

Cælius Aurelianus, ed. C. Amman (Amsterdam, 1709, etc.).

Cassius Felix, ed. V. Rose. On his language, see Wölfflin in Munich *Sitzungsberichte* for 1880, i., pp. 381 *ff.*

Merobaudes, ed. Vollmer in *Monumenta Germaniæ*.

Claudius Marius Victor in Vienna *Corpus* (vol. xvi.), by K. Schenkl.

Orientius, ed. L. Bellanger (Paris, 1903).

Cyprian of Toulon, ed. R. Peiper in the Vienna *Corpus*, with which use *The Latin Heptateuch*, by John E. B. Mayor (Cambridge University Press), invaluable to all students of late authors.

Salvian, ed. F. Pauly in the Vienna *Corpus*; best annotated edition by C. Rittershusius (Altdorf, 1611).

Apollinaris Sidonius, ed. Mohr (Leipzig: Teubner); letters translated by O. M. Dalton (Oxford University Press). Best annotated editions are by J. Savaro (Paris, 1609) and J. Sirmond (Paris, 1614). On the latinity, see H. Kretschmann (Memel, 1870, 1872).

Mamertus Claudianus, ed. A. Engelbrecht in the Vienna *Corpus* (good index).

Faustus Reiensis and **Ruricius**, ed. A. Engelbrecht in the Vienna *Corpus*. On the authorship of certain sermons attributed to Faustus in Engelbrecht's edition, see Dom Morin in *Revue Bénédictine*, ix. (1892), pp. 49-61.

Arnobius Junior: His works are not yet united in one edition. The commentary on the Psalms and the *Conflictus* and the *Prædestinatus* in Migne, liii.; the *Expositiunculæ in Euangelium* in G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. iii., part 3; the *liber ad Gregoriam* in his *Études, Textes, Découvertes*, t. i., pp. 383-439, in which volume also (pp. 309-382) is the best account of the author's works and latinity.

Cæsarius of Arles: The sermons of this great preacher are in part to be found in the appendix to the Sermons of St. Augustine, in part in Migne, lxvii. A complete edition for the Vienna *Corpus* has long been in preparation by Dom G. Morin, who has

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meantime published a number of new pieces in the *Revue Bénédictine*, xiii., xvi., xxi., xxiii., xxvii.

SIXTH CENTURY.

Gelasius: The *Decretum Gelasianum de Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, edited by E. von Dobschütz (Leipzig: Hinrichs); the Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. H. A. Wilson (Oxford University Press).

Maximus of Turin: The defects of Bruni's edition (Rome, 1784) are in part neutralized by the work of Spagnolo and Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xvii. (1915-16).

Gennadius: The *De Viris Illustribus*, ed. Richardson (Leipzig: Hinrichs); the *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, ed. C. H. Turner (*Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. vii.).

Victor Vitensis, ed. Petschenig in the Vienna *Corpus*.

Dares Phrygius (with **Dictys Cretensis**), ed. F. Meister (Leipzig: Teubner). Good old edition by Fabri (Amsterdam, 1702).

Sedulius, ed. Huemer in the Vienna *Corpus*.

Alcimus Auitus, ed. R. Peiper in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. Copious monograph on the latinity by H. Goelzer (Paris, 1909).

Dracontius, ed. F. Vollmer in *Monumenta Germaniae* and also in the *Poetæ Latini Minores* (Leipzig: Teubner).

Boetius: The *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. R. Peiper (Leipzig: Teubner), to whom, however, was unknown a valuable ninth-century manuscript in the Laurentian library, Florence. The *In Isagogen Porphyrii*, ed. S. Brandt in the Vienna *Corpus*.

Ennodius, ed. F. Vogel in the *Monumenta Germaniae*: older edition by J. Sirmond (Paris, 1611).

Fulgentius of Ruspe: Certain works ed. by R. Helm (Leipzig: Teubner); a good monograph on his language by O. Friebel (Paderborn, 1911).

Priscianus, ed. in Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, vols. ii. and iii.

Cassiodorus: Best ed. of collected works by Garet (Rouen, 1679; Venice, 1729); the *Complexiones in Epistolas, Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin*, ed. S. Maffei (Florence, 1721), S. Chandler (London, 1722); the anti-pelagianized revision of Pelagius' expositions of the Epistles of St. Paul, published under the name of Primasius in Migne, *P. L.*, lxxviii.; the *Variæ*, with splendid index by L. Traube, ed. Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae*; the *Chronicle* by the same in the same series; the grammatical works in Keil's *Grammatici Latini*. The papers of P. Lehmann in recent volumes of *Philologus* are important.

Iordanis, ed. Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae*: on the latinity, F. Werner (Halle, 1908).

Gildas, ed. Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae*.

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Gregory of Tours, ed. Omont, Collon, and Poupardin (Paris: Picard, 1913). A standard monograph on the latinity by M. Bonnet (Paris, 1890); a German translation, with excellent historical notes, by S. Hellmann, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Dykschen, 1911-1913).

Anthimus, ed. V. Rose (Leipzig: Teubner).

Justinian's Institutes, ed. J. B. Moyle (1890); *Digest*, ed. Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann).

"**Apollonius of Tyre**," ed. Riese (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893).

Maximian, ed. Petschenig (Berlin: Calvary); ed. Webster (with commentary) (Princeton, 1901).

Arator: Best edition by H. J. Arntzen (Zutphen, 1769); last ed. G. L. Perugi (Venice, 1909).

Venantius Fortunatus, ed. F. Leo and B. Krusch in *Monumenta Germaniae*.

Corippus, ed. Petschenig (Berlin, 1886): annotated editions by A. Goetzius (Altdorf, 1743) and P. F. Fogginus (Rome, 1777).

Gregory the Great: Best edition by the Benedictines (Paris, 1705; Venice, 1768-1776).

Eugipius: His *Vita Sancti Seuerini*, ed. Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann); his excerpts from St. Augustine, ed. P. Knöll in the Vienna *Corpus*.

Apriugius: His commentary on the Apocalypse, ed. Férotin (Paris, 1900).

Primasius: His commentary on the Apocalypse in Migne, lxviii.; the Biblical text critically edited

by Haussleiter (Zahn's *Forschungen*, Bd. iv.). See under *Cassiodorus*.

Iunilius: The *Instituta Regularia Diuinæ Legis*, ed. H. Kihn (Freiburg, 1880).

Eugenius Toletanus, ed. Vollmer in *Monumenta Germaniae*.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

Isidore of Seville: Best edition of the collected works by F. Arevalo (Rome, 1797-1803); best edition of the *Etymologiae (Origines)* by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford University Press). Best account of the older manuscripts of Isidore's works by C. H. Beeson (Munich: Beck). The *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*, ed. by Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae*.

Virgilius Maro, grammarian, ed. Huemer (Leipzig: Teubner). On the language, cf. P. Geyer in *Archiv f. lat. Lex.*, ii. (1885), pp. 25 ff.

Fredegarius, ed. B. Krusch (Hannover, 1888) in *Monumenta Germaniae*.

Aldhelm: Best ed. of the *De Virginitate* by R. Ehwald in *Monumenta Germaniae*.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

Venerable Bede: Best edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* by Plummer (Oxford University Press); valuable annotated edition of Books III. and IV. by Mayor and Lumby (Cam-

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bridge University Press). Portions of his *De Temporibus* edited by Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae*; his grammatical works in Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, vol. vii. With these exceptions, none of his works is critically edited, though excellent manuscripts abound.

The *Itinerarium Etheriæ* (*Eucheriae*), of uncertain date, is edited by Heræus (Heidelberg, 1908) and others: translated by Provost Bernard and (for S.P.C.K.) by M. L. McClure and C. L. Feltoe. Cf. Anglade, *De Latinitate Peregrinationis ad Loca Sancta* (Paris, 1905), and a large literature besides, of which E. Löfstedt's *Philologischer Kommentar* (Lund u. Leipzig) is of conspicuous importance.

The later Latin is, on the whole, easier than the earlier, but it differs from it in certain respects. To a few of these attention may now be called.

Colloquialisms which appear in the comedies of Plautus, in the more conversational letters of Cicero and his correspondents, in Horace's less formal poems, in the younger Seneca and Petronius, are, for the most part, rigidly excluded from polite literature in the early days. With Fronto and Apuleius they begin to appear again in literature, and very few of the later authors are free from them. The earlier forms of the Latin Bible abound in colloquialisms.

There appears to be also a considerable conscious

antiquarian element in some of the late authors—for example, Fronto and Gellius. At least, there are many words found in Plautus and other early writers which are unexampled again until we come to the second century A.D. Some of these may, of course, have been in continuous colloquial use in the interval. It is unsafe to assume that words not found in the Ciceronian period were then obsolete.

Again, there is a tremendous accession of the Greek element in Latin. Greek was certainly the leading language of the Roman Empire down to A.D. 150 or 200, and many words which had been recognized as foreign were now written in Latin letters, having become part of the Latin language. It would be very instructive, if we had sufficient reliable evidence from the manuscripts, to trace the date of the appearance of certain Greek words in Latin. Some words were written as Greek in Cicero's time which in Jerome's time had become Latin.

The reader will also discover that the vocabulary has grown enormously, particularly in the direction of compounds and of abstract nouns. There is, for example, a large accession of words compounded with the negative particle *in-*, and the increase in the number of abstract nouns is sufficiently explained by the growing need for the expression of philosophical and theological conceptions in Latin.

In the Christian literature there is the whole

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mass of definitely Christian terminology to be reckoned with. This terminology was the invention of the translators of the Bible and of the Christian authors. Until Christianity reached a level in the social scale where Greek was not understood, a Latin Bible was unnecessary. When it became necessary, it was, as I believe, the work of those whose proper language was Greek, and who possessed or used little but a colloquial knowledge of Latin. Hence many of the *bizarceries* of the Old-Latin Bible, some of which disappeared under continuous revision.

The foundation of the more technical language of Christian theology was laid by Tertullian. He had a wide knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin literature; and as a trained lawyer possessed also a minute knowledge of Roman law. It is to him more than anyone else that the Latin of the Christian authors owes its definitely legalistic tinge. Some of the words he employs fell into disuse later, but a considerable portion of his vocabulary became a settled part of Christian terminology. Words like *persona* and *trinitas* are first employed by him in their special senses. It is in Hilary, however, that we first find *incarnatio*.

The average prose of the later authors is distinctly easier to follow than that of the classical period. Writers like Tertullian, Hilary, and Augustine can be at times hard enough, but the majority are fairly

easy. This is due, in part at least, to the rules of the rhetorical schools, according to which clauses are short, and the sentence is built, as it were, by the addition of one brick at a time. The parallelism between clauses becomes at times rather mechanical and wearisome, but this want of variety helps the understanding of the reader. A number of the nicer distinctions of classical times—for example, the difference between the indicative and the subjunctive following *ante quam* and *prius quam*—tend to disappear. The accusative and infinitive construction becomes less and less used, and the substituted constructions bring us nearer to the practice of modern languages.

The later Latin prose is distinguished from the earlier by the greater prevalence of poetic diction in it. The influence of Virgil may be traced in nearly every later Latin author, though not in all to the degree visible in Tacitus. Virgil became a school-book almost immediately, and thus we find his influence cropping up constantly where we should never expect it, and in authors who would be glad to eliminate all pagan influence if they could. The rather illiterate Ambrosiaster begins his 65th *Quæstio* with the words: “*obscuris uera inuoluere non est bonum.*” This is, of course, an echo of Virgil, *Aeneid* vi. 100, “*obscuris uera inuoluens,*” used of the Cumæan Sibyl. Jerome constantly echoes Virgil, Horace, and other poets;

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Augustine shows a good knowledge of Lucan. But the influence of poetry appears not only in recollections of the poets, but in the use of words created for poetry, of which the origin was forgotten. There would never have been a word *eloquium*, except for the fact that *eloquentia* will not go into the hexameter: yet *eloquium* is most frequent in the late prose-writers. Again, adjectives ending in *-dicus*, *-ficus*, are mostly poetical, and the suffix is almost otiose in most cases. Such formations are very convenient amplifications of the simple word, as *lætificus* of *lætus*, if one is writing hexameter verse, but the later prose-writers took over a word like *ueridicus*, constructed for verse as it was, and superfluous from the prose point of view.

Perhaps, however, what will trouble the classical reader most is the extraordinary way in which certain simple words have changed their meaning. With some illustrations of this feature of late authors the present paper must close. The illustrations are selected somewhat at random, and have no relation to one another.

In philosophical and theological writings it is useful to be able to distinguish throughout the forms of *anima*, "life-principle," "soul," from those of *animus*, "spirit." It is only in the dative and ablative plural that there is any difficulty. The difficulty does not seem to have been felt in classical

times, when more was left to the intelligence. But the Christian writers always use *animabus* for the dative and ablative plural of *anima*, and thus avoid the ambiguity. In the classical period the use of this *-abus* form is very restricted.

In the later authors the word *adiutorium* occurs a countless number of times, and is probably at that time the commonest word for "assistance." In Cicero it occurs only once. The early word *adiumentum* is, on the contrary, very rare in late Latin. *Auxilium* and *suffragium* persist. In classical Latin the word *ciuis* does duty for "citizen" and "fellow-citizen"; in late Latin we have *conciuis* for the latter, in the same way as *πολίτης* divides up later into *συμπολίτης* for the latter sense, *πολίτης* for the former. Among the new words coined is *deitas* (from *deus*). Arnobius already uses it, but Augustine, a century later, considers it necessary to apologize for its use.

The later authors appear to prefer an ablative like *ueterī* to *ueterē*. The former appears to have been invented by the hexameter poets because of the difficulty of using the other in the hexameter. Even in prose, of course, a tribach would generally be avoided. In classical Latin only the comparative of *certus* is used with a clause dependent on it; in late Latin the positive frequently occurs in this use. In classical Latin the ablative case is employed after the comparative of an adjective; in late Latin

we sometimes find the genitive, on the analogy of Greek.

One of the most remarkable changes affects the value of certain well-known pronominal adjectives. The word *is* was always a weak word, and, if it was wrongly aspirated, some of its forms were liable to be confused with those of *hic*. The failure to aspirate forms of *hic* was a much commoner occurrence, and led to confusion with forms of *is*. The effect was to drive the word *is* almost out of the language. It resulted from this that *hic* came to have the sense of *is*, as it has almost universally in late authors. *Iste*, a comparatively rare word in classical times, came to have the value of *hic*, as we see from Romance forms like Spanish *este* ("this") it must have had. This new sense rules in late authors.

In classical Latin the want of a present participle to the verb *sum* often causes difficulty. This was got over in late times by giving *constitutus*, *positus*, and *consistens* the weaker sense of the missing participle. *Constitutus* is oftener used by African writers; *positus* is oftener used by European writers; *consistens* is comparatively rare. *Corrigo* and *emendo* are sometimes employed intransitively in late Latin, like the English "reform." Not infrequently we find in certain late authors a curious intransitive use of *dissimulo*, followed by *a*, *ab*, in the sense, "I neglect"; there is also a use of

strictly allow themselves the *quod* construction, followed by indicative or subjunctive. Under the influence of the Greek Bible, where $\delta\tau\iota$ may mean "that" or "because" according to the context, a foreign use of *quia* and *quoniam* arises in Latin, where they become widely used in the sense "that." *Quia* is more literary than *quoniam* in this use. Even *ut* is found occasionally with the same force.

In introducing a question where a negative answer is expected, classical Latin employs *num* or *numquidnam*. Late Latin dropped *num* entirely or almost entirely, and regularly used *numquid*, much less frequently *numquidnam*. In classical Latin *etenim* naturally stands in the first place in the sentence, being really two words, *et enim*, but in late Latin, on the analogy of *enim* and perhaps under the influence of the poets, it is also very frequently used in the second place. In the sense of "but if not," "otherwise," late Latin sometimes employs the extraordinary phrase *si quo minus*; *sin aliter* seems to be dead, but *aliоquin* and *sin autem* are frequent.¹ Finally, *propter quod* occurs extremely often in the sense of "wherefore," "for which reason," perhaps a literal rendering of Greek $\delta\iota\delta\tau\iota$.

¹ See Burkitt's *The Old Latin and the Itala* (Cambridge University Press), p. 41, for Biblical examples.

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